

## Code-switching and borrowing in Mixe: friend or foe for language maintenance?

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### (1) Borrowed function words: clause connectors

Subordinate complement clause with complementizer *ko* “that” from Spanish *que* “that” and clause connector *peerë* “but” from Spanish *pero* “but”. Example 1a is taken from the narratives.

- 1a. *peerë tēēk jā’ä t’ixy [ko ja soldadē tēē jya’tē]*  
*peerë tēēk jā’ä t’ix-y ko ja soldadē tēē y-ja’tē*  
 but before.now DEM 3A-see-D.ASP COMPL DEM soldier before.now 3S-come-PL  
 ‘But he saw that the soldiers were coming.’

Having clause connectors borrowed from Spanish creates structures like the ones found in Spanish, but not necessarily found in Mixe. Examples 1b and 1c, taken from the narratives, show complement clauses in Mixe without complementizers.

- 1b. *pi’kana’k kita’aktē tiyaahtsoy*  
*pi’kana’k ø-kita’ak-tē t-iyaahtsoy-y*  
 children 3S-descend-PL 3A-call-D.ASP  
 ‘(The King) called the children to descend.’
- 1c. *Sara yē’ē myaank tēē tkex kääkyjüüipyē*  
*Sara yē’ē y-maank tēē t-kex-y kääky-jüüiy-p*  
 DEM POSS-son before.now 3A-send-D.ASP tortilla-buy-INF  
 ‘Sara sent her son to buy tortillas.’

Borrowed function words are generally **phonologically assimilated** in the narratives, but **not always assimilated in the conversations**. Assimilated *peerë* ‘but’ from Spanish *pero* ‘but’ is shown in 1d and 1e, and non-assimilated *pero* ‘but’ is shown in 1f and 1g. Examples 1d-1g stem from the conversations.

- 1d. *peerë ka’ap jēmpaat ēējts ntsu’umtē escuela yē’ēch*  
*peerë ka’ap jēmpaat ēējts n-tsu’um-tē escuela yē’ē-ēch*  
 pero NEG right 1 1A.DEP-jail-PL school 3-PL  
 ‘[...] but it is not right that we put them in jail, the students.’
- 1e. *peerë ka’ap oojts tii chēkoy*  
*peerë ka’ap oojts tii t-tsēkoy-y*  
 NEG PST something 3A.DEP-loose-D.ASP  
 ‘[...] but nothing got lost’
- 1f. *nkoopë ko Godë ntaapo’ykyaatë, pero oo jyä’ch ma kuutuunkën*  
*nkoopë ko Godë t-naa-po’ykyaa-të pero oo y-jä’ch ma kuutuunk-ën*  
 only when 3A.DEP-CAUS-accuse-PL but PST 3S.DEP-arrive where authorities-LOC  
 ‘[...] only when they accused Godo, but he went to the authorities.’

- 1g. *yē'ēts kē'ēm mooyēp maestrē pero wiinkēts*  
*yē'ēts kē'ēm mooyēp maestrē pero wiinkēts*  
 DEM same gave teacher but unhappy  
 '(Yes), the same teacher gave it to him, but (the committee) was unhappy (with that).'

## (2) Borrowed function words: discourse markers (assimilated and not)

Borrowed discourse markers are like clause connectors in that they occur **clause-initially** and can appear in **phonologically assimilated or non-assimilated** form. Examples 2a-2c are taken from the conversations. In 2a *buenē* 'well' from Spanish *bueno* 'well' is assimilated, while in 2b and 2c the discourse markers *pues* 'well' from Spanish *pues* 'well' and *entonces* 'so' from Spanish *entonces* 'so' are not.

- 2a. *buenē, oy chimpēnnēch*  
***buenē** oy chimpēnnēch*  
 well like.that anyone  
 'Well, anyone (can do it) like that.'
- 2b. *pues, yē'ē jetu'un oo chōy'āchy tsoy'aajtpē'ē*  
***pues** yē'ē jetu'un oo y-tsōy'āch-y tsoy'aajtpē'ē*  
 DEM like.that PST 3A.DEP-serve-D.ASP cure  
 'Well, like that it served as a lesson (as medicine)'
- 2c. *entonces timp mpomp reunionk i'tēch, jetu'un inä'āny*  
***entonces** timp mpomp reunionk i'tēch jetu'un inä'āny*  
 so really tomorrow meeting will.be like.said said  
 'So, tomorrow there will really be a meeting; that's what he said.'

## (3) Nonce borrowings (in conversations)

Nonce borrowings are only found in the conversations. Assimilated nonce borrowing are shown in 3a and 3b, *tostaadē* 'toast' from Spanish *tostada* 'toast' and *jeringē* 'syringe' from Spanish *jeringa* 'syringe'. Non-assimilated nonce borrowings are shown in 3c and 3d, *protección* 'protection' and *llavero* 'key chain'. All examples are from the conversations.

**Note:** Examples in 3c and 3d could also be considered code-switches.

- 3a. *nēeks jā'ā tostaadē pēk wā'an tkay*  
*nēeks jā'ā **tostaadē** pēk wā'an t-kay-y*  
 go DEM toast bring so.that 3A.DEP-come-D.ASP  
 'Go and get the toast so that he can eat!'
- 3b. *tāās oojs jeringē niiva'akētē jeringē ana'k neechukxujētēp*  
*tāās oojs **jeringē** n-iiva'akē-tē **jeringē** ana'k n-nee-chuk-xujē-tē-p*  
 so PST syringe 1-take-PL syringe kids 1-REC-CAUS-empty-PL-IND.ASP  
 'So, we (the kids) used to pick up a syringe and empty the syringe on each other.'

- 3c. *myët'aajchp protección*  
*y-mëët-'aajch-p* **protección**  
 3A.IND-with-VRB-IND.ASP protection  
 'He has protection.'
- 3d. *yë'ë Tinë llavero yaatëkats'äämpy*  
*yë'ë Tinë llavero yaatëkats-'äämpy*  
 DEM Tino key.chain change-VRB  
 'Tino wants to change the key chain.'

#### (4) Code-switching (in conversations)

All code-switching (CS) examples are drawn from the two conversations. 4a shows CS between clauses, 4b within a clause, 4c illustrates tag-switching, and 4d are examples of intra-word CS, which is rare. Spanish sections appear in bold, Mixe sections appear in cursive. Code-switches are taken from Spanish and inserted into the (predominantly) Mixe conversations.

**Note:** 4b, 4c, and 4d could also be considered nonce borrowings.

- 4a1. *tää jyakana'any: discúlpeme si me equivoqué*  
*tää y-jakana'an-y* **discúlpeme** *si me equivoqué*  
 then 3A.DEP-say-D.ASP forgive.me if I I.made.a.mistake  
 'Then he said: please forgive me if I made a mistake.'
- 4a2. *ëjts ka'apës nëktsoojkenë disculpa maestrë, yë'ë tämp profesión*  
*ëjts ka'ap-ës n-ëktsoojkenë* **disculpa maestrë** *yë'ë tämp profesión*  
 1SG NEG=EMPH 1A.DEP-want excuse teacher DEM exist job  
 'I don't want an excuse "teacher", it is your job.'
- 4a3. *tienes que ser profesional, cham minnyës para que niijaawëjanyës*  
**tienes que ser profesional** *cham minny=ës* **para que** *n-niijaawëjany=ës*  
 you.have to be professional now come=EMPH to 1S.DEP-know=EMPH  
 'you have to be professional, now I'll come to know (what happened).'
- 4a4. *ka'apë jëtu'un öyëch*  
*ka'apë jëtu'un öy=ëch*  
 NEG like.that good=IRR  
 'it doesn't work (like that).'

CS is used mostly to represent original direct quote; however, part of the quote seems to be in Mixe.

4a1: inter-clausal CS (intra-sentential)

4a2. nonce borrowings or single-word CS for the adapted borrowings (*disculpa, profesión*)

4a3. inter-sentential CS; also function word borrowing (*para que*)

- 4b. *oojts diplomē māājtsk yaamo'oy* => adapted nonce borrowing  
*oojts **diplomē** māājtsk y-yaa-mo'oy*  
 PST diplom two 3A.INDEP-CAUSE-give  
 'They gave him two diplomas.'

*primer lugar oojts tjuujch* => intra-sentential CS  
**primer lugar** oojts t-juujts-y  
 first place PST 3A.DEP-get-DEP.ASP  
 'He got first place.'

*jetu'un inä'äny*  
*jetu'un inä'äny*  
 like.that say  
 'That's what he's saying.'

*yë'en ii tu'uk diez puntos nueve* => intra-sentential CS  
*yë'en ii tu'uk **diez puntos nueve***  
 DEM PST one ten point nine  
 'he was the only one with 10.9.'

*yë'ë ko ka'ap tii bolsë* => adapted nonce borrowing (*bolsë*)  
*yë'ë **ko** ka'ap tii **bolsë*** => function word *ko* (Span *como* 'how')  
 DEM how NEG what bag  
 'He doesn't have a bag like'

*nti'ipë oojts maestrë oojts mēekētā'ākyën* => adapted nonce borrowing (*maestrë*)  
*nti'ipë oojts **maestrë** oojts mēē-kētā'ākyën*  
 that.one PST teacher PST with-brought  
 'the one the teacher brought.'

Intra-clausal CS and nonce borrowings. Reasons: crutching and to represent an evaluation system used in schools which is based on the culture of the dominant Spanish language.

- 4c.1 *oojtsës n'oojy vaya* => tag-switching  
*oojts=ës n-'oojy **vaya***  
 PST=EMPH 1A.DEP-nag well  
 'I nagged about it, well'

- 4c.2 *ah, bueno, jammës neetu'un n'üxpë'k'a'an-y,* => tag-switching  
**ah, bueno** jamm=ës neetu'un n'üxpë'k'a'an-y  
 oh well there=EMPH like.that 1S.DEP-go.study-DEP.ASP  
 'Oh, well, I will also go and study there,'

*ella de segundo y yo de primero* => intra-sentential CS  
**ella de segundo y yo de primero**  
 she of second and I of first  
 'she in second (grade) and I in first (grade).'

- 4c.3 *De los errores se aprende, kētii pa'chē* => tag-switching into Mixe  
*De los errores se aprende kētii pa'chē*  
 from the mistakes one learns right buddy  
 'You learn from your mistakes, right, buddy?'

Tag-switches seem to occur in both directions (to and from Spanish).

- 4d1. *ma tu'ukē organizaciongēn ma tu'ukē instituciongēn* => CS with Mixe locative marker  
*ma tu'ukē organización-gēn ma tu'ukē institución-gēn*  
 in one organización-LOC in one institución-LOC  
 'in an organization, in an institution (like a school)'
- ets luego luego actuar'a'tēch y todavía alumnä yē'ēch*  
*ets luego luego actuar-a'tēch y todavía alumn-jä'a yē'ē-ēch*  
 and later later act-VRB and still student-DEM 3-PL  
 'and they can't just act "later, later" (first to jail and then we'll see), they are still students'

=> CS with Mixe verbalizer and Mixe demonstrative in Spanish clause

- 4d2. *pētsēmtē, yaa'anēēmētē tu'uk cubetē je'eyē xjüychēch*  
*pētsēm-tē yaa-'anēēm-ē-tē tu'uk **cubetē** je'eyē x-jüych=ēch*  
 get.out-PL 3O.DEP-tell-INV-PL one gallon only 3A.DEP-buy=IRR  
 '(They tell them): Get out! They are being told to buy only one gallon (of paint)'
- yē'ē pinturē tāp escuel-tēējk yaa'koyä'āny*  
*yē'ē **pinturē** tāp escuel-tēējk y-yaa-koyä'ān-y*  
 DEM paint exist school-house 3A.DEP-CAUS-paint-DEP.ASP  
 'The paint is needed to paint the school (building).'

- 4d3. *chamēs jē'ē chamēs tu'uk xuk'awaanē*  
*cham-ēs jē'ē cham-ēs tu'uk xuk'awaanē*  
 ahora-EMPH DEM ahora-EMPH uno me.dijo  
 'Now one told me'

*ko yē'ē cafē'ak ka'apēkē'ē y'abonnēch*  
***ko** yē'ē cafē-ak ka'ap-ēk-jē'ē y-'abonn=ēch*  
 that DEM coffee-shell NEG-EV-DEM 3S.DEP-fertilizer=IRR  
 'that the coffee sheell is not fertilizer'.

=> 4d2 and 4d3 show examples of mixed compound words. 4d3 also illustrates a Spanish root *abono* 'fertilizer' that occurs with Mixe affixes and clitics attached to it.

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